

Marchetti

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM VICTOR MARCHETTI VS THE USA STATION WNET/TV
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FULL TEXT

MAN: I think it's first amendment. I don't see how the CIA or anybody in the government can say you can't write or you can't talk about this or that, you know, because it's just guaranteed in the Constitution that you can write, you know, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, all of that.

WOMAN: He said that he was fed up and he talked this over and I encouraged him. I said I wanted him to quit because it just wasn't worth the strain he was under staying there.

VICTOR MARCHETTI: I'm Victor Marchetti, a former officer of the CIA where I worked for fourteen years. I'm trying to write a book about the CIA, explaining both the good and the bad of it all. The CIA however want me to shut up. I don't intend to.

I felt much the same way a man would feel when he joins the priesthood or the Marine Corps when I joined the CIA. This was going to be my life's work. When I began to see my Agency either changing or not being what I thought it was as I got to know it better, and I felt cheated. And I didn't know what to do about it.

There are times when I feel that they were being personal in their attack on me because it is not solely an attempt to defend the institution and the profession. I feel sometime that there's more to it than that and they really would like to crucify me.

WOMAN: How do you feel about this country now?

MARCHETTI: My country. My ancestors came over here and worked in mines and did all those things and I'm part Italian, I'm part German, I'm part Polish and part Tyrolean and my wife

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is part Slovak and part Russian and we're melting pot people and we're the real Americans, we're the people that make this country run, not the people that -- whose ancestors a few hundred years ago carved out empires and now they just sit around with silver spoons in their mouths and noblesse oblige it all. No, we're the people; we're the real people.

I'm middle America, you know, I mean, my cousin's a bulldozer driver. I showed you my hardhat in there and everything. And just because I'm saying that the CIA needs to be reviewed and U.S. intelligence should be reformed, there's no reason in the world why I should be shamed, frightened, or driven into silence, or worse yet, to leaving the country or something. No. I've got to fight it out.

MAN: ... I don't think that is a personal matter although the Agency does seem to be very emotional about it. It's an institutional thing; it's the institution, the organization trying to crucify one of their own who has become an heretic in their eyes.

WOMAN: ... why he is, so many other books have been written about the CIA by ex-CIA people. Did you wonder about it ...

MARCHETTI: I still wonder why me mostly. I think there are many reasons but I think one of the key reasons is that in some of my criticism of the Agency, where I accuse them of having failed at some of their primary functions and criticize and question the need for certain clandestine activities that I'm really striking at the guts of the clandestine types who run the Agency.

WOMAN: After Victor Marchetti left the CIA in 1969, he wrote a novel, "The Rope Dancer", a fictionalized account of the activities of an intelligence agency in the United States. He later decided to write a non-fiction book about the CIA to articulate better his criticisms of the inner workings of the Agency.

He wrote an outline for the book and submitted it to five publishers in New York City: Alfred Knopf bought the rights to the book.

When Marchetti resigned from the CIA, he signed an oath, as all employees must, in which he promised, not to divulge, by written word, anything relating to intelligence without the express consent of the Director.

Marchetti says it was always his intention to show the book to the Agency for their scrutiny, when it was completed and had been seen by his publisher.

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Marchetti was unaware that the Agency had received from an unknown source a copy of the outline for his book.

He was also unaware that the government was planning a court action that would stop him from writing the book unless the CIA saw it before his publishers.

MARCHETTI: A couple of weeks after I had made arrangements with Knopf to do the book, I got a phone call one day from Admiral Taylor, Admiral Rufus Taylor who is now retired and was the former Deputy Director of the CIA. He wanted to get together for old time's sake and chat. He said he was in town on some sort of personal business.

WOMAN: You know, Admiral Taylor was one of his favorite people. Since Victor left, he had never contacted Victor, and I thought, this was really a little schmaltzy.

MARCHETTI: I took him at his word. Bernice, being a woman, and more intuitive, was immediately -- immediately suspicious. I said that we didn't have anything to hide, so, why not?

I met the Admiral at a motel over in Falls Church and he was a little on the nervous side.

WOMAN: Unfortunately, Victor again decided -- and he's boss man in the house most of the time - and he went to meet him.

MARCHETTI: I met him at the hotel in Falls Church knowing full well that it might be bugged but I had nothing to hide. I wanted them to know exactly what my views were because we talked about every-thing -- he asked surprising, amazing questions like, are you out to destroy the CIA? ... of course not, you know better than that. And I explained my position.

We discussed everything and it gave me an opportunity to tell the Agency exactly what I was thinking, how things had changed in my mind over the years, they would no longer have to rely on rumors and scuttlebut, which they apparently were at that time, because the Admiral said to me, he said, gee, I'm glad to see you, you're looking good and I'm really glad to hear all those - to see that all those rumors I heard about you in the Agency are false.

And I said, what do you mean?

And he said, well, I'd heard all these stories about how you had long hair and you wore kookie clothes and you ran around with funny people and all. He said, you look, and act, and talk just like the guy you always were.

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WOMAN: What was so damned important about how Victor looked, whether he had long hair, what was that? I mean, there are a lot of long haired bearded people that I would prefer to sit with than some of these top officials of CIA.

MARCHETTI: He was particularly interested in would I let the Agency see a copy of the book and I said yes that the publisher and I had discussed this and we had agreed that this was the proper thing to do but not until the book was written and edited and ready -- then we could sit down and discuss it with them and if they had any objections, we could perhaps accommodate them in some instances, compromise in some.

So I told the Admiral that there would probably be areas that -- where we just would not be able to agree on and we'd just have to cross those bridges when we got to them.

But at the very moment I was talking to him, they were obviously preparing a surprise move, because as you read the papers, it's very clear that they were - that this was all in process, the court case was being developed and prepared and so it was a sham. I mean, they set me up.

WOMAN: He came back and he told me what went on and I knew behind my mind that there was -- I'm sure they must have had a recorder in the motel room and if he'd have come over to the house he probably would have had a tie tack that was recording, but it would have been a little different if I'd have been around there.

MARCHETTI: Everything looked good and promising until the 18th of April last Spring and then the sky fell in.

WOMAN: All of a sudden, I was cleaning out the utility shed, and the place was in quite a turmoil and up drove the car with Matt and Chester.

MARCHETTI: The U.S. marshalls appeared at the door. And served me with a temporary restraining order and a complaint for permanent injunction which there would be a hearing on in ten weeks -- twenty days after that.

About fifteen minutes before the marshalls got here, I'd gotten a phone call from a New York Times reporter, telling me that he'd heard that the government was going to move against some ex-CIA man. That they'd been tipped off by the Justice Department about(?) this and he asked if I knew and I had no idea because I - couldn't possibly be me.

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WOMAN: And it was just like a ... story, and out they came, sherrif wearing his badge, proudly displayed, and asking for Mr. Marchetti. And that was it. They went in. And I knew immediately what would happen.

MARCHETTI: So one of the first things I did after glancing at the papers and seeing that all of a sudden I could not write anything factual or fictional, do or say anything have any sort of a remote connection with intelligence was to call this reporter back from the Times and tell him and he said he knew it had been me but he thought I was putting him on by pretending not to know.

WOMAN: He thought you knew.

MARCHETTI: And I said, I'm not playing games any more. Those days are gone forever.

WOMAN: Marchetti sought legal help. The court injunction restrained his speaking or writing about his years with the Agency. The American Civil Liberties Union took the case and said they saw in it the (TAPE JUMP) ... the First Amendment rights as well as those of other government employees who might wish to criticize the workings of their government some day.

Secrets? Was Marchetti giving away classified material that would endanger our national security? Or was he criticizing the bureaucracy, mismanagement, and ineffectiveness of the Agency for which he had worked for fourteen years?

Unfortunately, neither you nor I can answer that question. The outline for his book is still sealed by the courts and neither Marchetti nor his lawyers could show it to us.

Marchetti's lawyers argued that prior restraint of Marchetti's outline on the mere basis that information in it might be classified would introduce a system of censorship which would result in the denial of the fundamental right of the American people to know what its government is doing.

They also argued that when the guidelines for what is classified and what is not are as vague as they are, then the government without restraint, under the guise of protecting our national security can classify anything, and thus, insulate itself from criticism.

Secrecy in government may be more dangerous to a free society than the practices they conceal. And they concluded that far from protecting our security, that scheme of censorship takes

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away our fundamental freedom to speak, to write, and the right of the people to know.

The government case was that Marchetti had access to national security documents. Material that was considered classified and that he had signed an oath. The oath was a contract and by writing an outline for a book, he had broken that contract.

We have learned that some of the material in Marchetti's outline can be found in the public press.

MAN: In this case, it's Victor who is a former employee of the CIA who had been made to sign a secrecy agreement and is now successfully so far been enjoined from talking about his work.

I, for myself think that it's very possible that if this injunction against Victor is upheld and he is prohibited from criticizing the CIA without prior government review of what he's saying, then I see no reason at all why the same limitations will not in the future be imposed on State Department people, Defense Department people, military people, and perhaps, ultimately, Department of Housing (sic) Education and Welfare - any body that works for the government.

WOMAN: What I'm saying is it's very hard for many people to understand or have empathy for a man who worked for an espionage or an intelligence gathering organization and who then leaves and says, now, I want to show you what it's all about.

MAN: Yes. Let me make this distinction. And it's a little bit technical but I'll try to detechnicalize it as much as I can.

There's a difference between, I mean, when a guy goes to work for a security agency and is exposed to classified material, there probably is the assumption, at least within the government, that he won't reveal it. But there is a paramount interest the public has in the right to know what some of its agencies are doing, particularly in the terribly controversial area of foreign intrigue, if that's what you want to call it. That's what I want to call it.

And when a guy goes in, he runs the risk, if he reveals the stuff, he runs the risk of perhaps being prosecuted which is the risk that Dan Ellsberg ran and is now being prosecuted for revealing classified information.

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WOMAN: Would you deny the right of the CIA to have some type of oath -- some type of oath that keeps ...

MAN: I deny the right of the government to censor in advance any information relating to politics or governmental activity which is revealed by a former government employee. I do not deny the right of the government to prosecute people under appropriately drawn and Constitutional statutes which perhaps may make it a crime to reveal properly classified information; but that's a risk that every government employee has to run, decide in his own mind, decide the matter in his own conscience.

WOMAN: Sandy, will it be your argument that the entire oath of secrecy that Victor took and signed when he left the CIA, is unConstitutional and an infringement of his first amendment rights?

SANDY: We certainly do argue that. We've argued it in each court and we will argue that to the Supreme Court to which we will appeal next week. We'll argue other points along the way as well but we do take the high ground that the oath of secrecy violates the First Amendment.

MAN: There was an additional obstacle which I think was terribly interesting and that's the old boy CIA network.

WOMAN: That Victor has talked to us about.

MAN: We interviewed at least a dozen former CIA guys, all of whom had left the Agency and all of whom were unwilling to be of any help at all. Their reaction was: I wouldn't have said that. That's not right.

SANDY: Bruce, I think it was fundamentally a real class thing; they thought Victor was a little declasse and these were all guys from Andover and Choate. There aren't too many Italians in the CIA. (OVERTALK) ... Victor always thought he was a little victimized because he was an ethnic.

MAN: ... basically consists of the rich Wasps who run the Agency and who run the nation. And these fellows went to Exeter together, to Choate, and on to Harvard and Yale, to Princeton and places like this. Some of them served together in World War II, in intelligence, but perhaps in allied field. They are still very close friends. Today, one is head of a bank. One is head of a newspaper; one is head of the CIA.

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MAN: It's a very close, very close network that they got. They still all see each other, are very friendly with their former colleagues who are still in the Agency. And they just weren't going to be any help at all. (OVERTALK) ...

MAN: The network by the way, actually spread beyond the CIA to other ...

MAN: ... State Department ...

MAN: ... State Department officials, Defense Department officials.

MAN: They're still old buddies, they're old friends. And I understand it. I understand the old boy network. I understand it as an ethnic street kid. If I ever became President of the United States, for example, I would want my old buddies in the key positions, because these are the people I know; these are my people; these are the people I can trust. I'd want Hotsi Deitch(?) as Secretary of the Treasury; I'd want Babe Reynolds in the Department of Justice and so forth. Because these are my people and so the old boys do the same thing; I mean, they just happen to be the upper crust, the silver spoon, the right families; the money and everything.

MAN: They couldn't see eye to eye with Victor's style. In a way, that's even more distressing to me than the fact that they were protecting themselves.

WOMAN: What do you mean by that?

MAN: His style of writing. The nature of his criticism. The fact that he (OVERTALK) ...

MAN: ... all these other guys went to Andover.

MAN: ... and all these other guys were Wasps.

MARCHETTI: Oh, sure I was the token Wop up there. In fact, there was a - one of the key officers in the CIA is known as the Office of National Estimates. Five or six years, maybe seven years ago, the Inspector General was doing one of his routine checks on offices(?) and he came up with an astounding discovery. That in this very high falutin' office, there were no Italians, no Jews, no Catholics, no ethnics, no blacks, no nothing, except good, pure white Wasps. And all of 'em, surprisingly enough were liberal Democrats. And so it was decided that something would have to be done so they hired some Jewish and some Italian fellows

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at a little higher level and they hired an Irishman or two and me and a couple of other guys to fill in at the medium level. And we hired one black girl, put her in the Reproduction Room so no one could see her. She was off in a corner, see.

MAN: His criticisms of the CIA are inevitably going to be framed in rather specific terms, not terribly damaging terms, in the overall picture, but very specific terms and these are the kinds of criticisms that he now can't make. He didn't want to, you know, blow the whole CIA cover from beginning to end. He just wanted to be able to criticize it as he thought the American public was entitled to be informed about some of the stuff that they were doing which he thought they ought not to be doing. That, as I say, was counter-productive and I mean that was the premise that we took the case on.

MAN: At the outset, I think when he started doing his writing, thought he could do pretty much what other people were doing in this area, other former employees of the CIA who've talked about what the CIA has meant to them. And suddenly, during the course of the next six months, he's found himself singled out, he's been enjoined effectively from making any living by his writing because he really now has to submit all his writing to the Director of the CIA and there's no insurance that any of it is going to be publishable.

WOMAN: Why the paucity of media coverage and what kind of attempts has the ACLU made to get the media to write about it so that people can understand who Victor Marchetti is and what his case means to them.

MAN: I wish I knew what the answer to that was. The newspaper, the media coverage in general of the case has been pathetic, it's been practically non-existent and I must say that I got my fangs out particularly for the New York Times and to a lesser extent the Washington Post. Cause I think the New York Times has been especially derelict in covering a news item which I think they, of all the publications, having been a defendant in their own case, and they're of course related to this; just a year ago ought know at least as well as anyone else how important this matter is.

MARCHETTI: I think one of the reasons is that reporters like simple, sensational cases and this is a very complex case; it's a very subtle case.

MAN: It's a censorship case and the Time's inadequate coverage prompted me, as I say, unprecedentedly to write to Abe Rosenthal, Mr. A.M. Rosenthal, Managing Editor of the New York Times, suggesting

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to him politely that I thought the Times hadn't covered the case adequately. They didn't cover it at all when an injunction came down from district court. They didn't cover the argument in the Court of Appeals. They didn't cover any of that.

And I wrote them a measured letter, asking why not, no answer. I wrote them on June first, no answer. I wrote them on June thirteenth, no answer. I wrote 'em a week later in which I asked them whether the CIA had gotten its tongue and I finally got an answer from the Deputy National Editor of the Times about a month after I started the correspondence in which they said, he said, I agree the Marchetti case raises interesting constitutional questions and is newsworthy. And he refers to that initial, long article, when the injunction came down and then he concedes, he says, we probably should have had a short article for the record when the district judge issued a permanent injunction, although we may not be giving the extensive coverage that you, as a particularly interested party may desire, we expect to give full coverage to the final disposition of the case.

Well, although the decision of the Court of Appeals last Monday wasn't final in the sense that it wasn't the decision of the Supreme Court, it was certainly final for the time being.

WOMAN: Has it been discussed at all that you might have thought that your father's cases would have made front pages all across the country and people would be clamoring for a decision on such a landmark case ... and that there haven't been many members of the press around?

MAN: Yeah, I would have thought that's so. A lot of people did it first, you know, like when he first received -- when the orders were received and everything like that, you know -- wow, wow, you know, this ought to make front pages, this is even bigger than Ellsberg and everything like that and I thought, you know, well (UNCLEAR) ... publicity, but it seems like it's kind of been stifled, I don't know why, if it's just a coincidence or you know, just everybody's kind of afraid to touch on the subject.

MARCHETTI: If there's an important question involving the CIA that comes up, one of the first things the Director would always do in his morning meeting was go round the table and ask if anyone knew this person, which was a good thing to do because with all these very important people, well-bred people, they had tremendous connections and they would know somebody in the publishing industry or they would know someone in the newspaper business or wherever. And they could then talk to them and explain things to them.

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There was no coercion. It was just a matter of getting people to understand.

MAN: We've learned a little bit in the course of this litigation about how these supersecret governments work and it's not uncommon, I think, for the CIA and the American government to know something and for the KGB and the Soviet government to know something, but neither the American people know it nor, needless to say, do the Soviet people know it.

MAN: And here we have a man who by nature of his prior experience has a unique capacity to inform the people about the operations of some hertofore very secret components of government in a way which we are informed by people who are in a position to know, in no way jeopardizes the national security or defense and he is being kept from speaking.

MAN: If he thinks it's important enough that the American people be informed about this, that or another aspect of governmental activity, and if he's willing to run the risk to go to jail for it, I think we have to say that, you know, that's a rather heroic judgment to make and we have to applaud him for it and not condemn him for it.

MARCHETTI: Victor Marchetti is just another guy who has begun to buck the system. I mean, he has a specific reason; but I think I'm just a symbol; just like many other people; I mean, I don't want to put myself in their class, because I don't rate it, but, you know, I think, really an Ellsberg, Tony Herbert, Barry ... Ramsay Clark and many many other people are doing essentially the same thing, only they're doing it in a different way. I think we're all doing the same thing.

I had been in military intelligence in the Army, you see, and when I came back to the States, I went to Penn State and studied Soviet studies and history in order to prepare myself for a career in intelligence.

The CIA was one of the leaders in the battle for democracy around the world. And I was very happy to work for them, to have the opportunity to work for them. I was recruited actually. Back in those days, the Agency was pretty spooky about such matters and I was evidently spotted by a cleared consultant at the University.

Well, one night I received a phone call from a fellow and he said that he was a friend of my brothers and he was staying at a certain hotel and would I come to see him? He wanted to chat with me.

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So I went to this hotel, but he told me not to ask for him at the desk and instead to go directly to his room. I knocked on the door and when it opened, there were two men standing in there, and I knew then what was happening, that I was going to be interviewed, and if found acceptable, they'd make the recruitment pitch.

A few weeks later, I got a letter asking me to come down to Washington for some tests and interviews. So I came down for a few days. And a month or so after that I was brought on board.

So I wanted to work for the CIA and I'm very glad that I did work for them.

WOMAN: Here we go. (CROSS TALK)

(UNIDENTIFIED NOISE)

BOY: I just knew Daddy worked for the CIA, you know, (UNCLEAR) ... I knew where he worked and everything like that but I didn't know if he was actually James Bond or anything like that, he just went off to work everyday like you know just about every other businessman and came back at the same time. A little late. But, you know. I didn't really know he was a spy. He used to go away on secret trips and he never really said like, you know, your father's a spy ... he used to tell me a lot of neat stories, you know, like that, you know, but it was kind of neat because like you know, out of all my friends, he was the only that I knew of that worked for the CIA, so you know, when ... kids said, you know, my father's a doctor's a lawyer, my dad's a CIA agent, you know, like that, you know, which was really kind of neat.

(CROSS TALK)

MARCHETTI: There are some romantic types in the CIA, some daring, dashing adventurers who wander around in foreign countries but these are relatively few and far between. The average CIA person is no different than the, well, than the neighbor who works for IBM or the fellow over here who's a physicist and just goes to work in the morning, comes home at night, and he probably goes to church, and he's probably still married to his first wife and has a couple of kids and he gets caught up with all the suburban stuff, you know; somebody's got to help out with the baseball team; somebody has to help out with the Scouts.

WOMAN: Come on, let's go.

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MARCHETTI: I believe in intelligence just as I always did. I mean, you have to have intelligence just as you need to have a police force and you need to have armed forces to protect yourself. Intelligence performs a very vital function in the classical sense of acquiring information and analyzing it and presenting it to the people who are running the government on the activities of other nations so they know what to expect.

I mean, you have to know if the other fellow has missiles or not and how good his missiles are and what he intends to do with them. That part of intelligence I still believe in. And I think the CIA has done a lot of good work. The intelligence community in general.

I believe in counter-espionage because that's a protective device. But what I had lost faith in was this cold war clandestine activity involving the manipulation of governments instead of just having people there to acquire information, but instead, trying to get people into power who could turn things a little bit this way or that way to suit your purposes ...

WOMAN: Like where?

MARCHETTI: Well, I'll have to try and think of some examples that are in the open sources but -- well, for example, going back to Guatemala in the early 50's, when the one government came to power which had communist leanings and the CIA supported other people to overthrow this government.

Later, working both with Guatemala and Nicaragua, they used their influence to allow the CIA to build secret bases there from which they launched the Bay of Pigs invasion. This sort of thing where you -- we were deeply involved in the Congo operation, obviously; I mean, that's been made known over the years.

We took sides. We supported different people at different times. And to me, I now feel that -- and was beginning to feel then that if we had no business in interfering with nature; let the political nature run its course in a place like the Congo. What does it matter if the Soviets have some influence in the Congo? All of Africa could fall off the face of the earth tomorrow and it wouldn't affect the national security of the United States.

There's this fellow, Antonia Aguadas(?) who was involved in the Che Guevara affair. He was the minister of the interior in Bolivia and therefore the head of the Bolivian intelligence

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and he later confessed that he'd been a CIA agent.

Well, this is -- in many of these instances, the person is not an agent in order to provide information to the Agency; he's an agent of influence. He's - the reason the Agency wants him or people in this business want a man like that is that he can influence events in his own government; his own government's policies and activities.

WOMAN: We were talking about your father's views about the peace movement, that he had been down on them for some time.

BOY: He's a real individual so you couldn't classify him as a redneck you know or as a liberal or anything like that. He, you know, he has his philosophy which I think is good is he believes in what he thinks is right. He doesn't follow a crowd or anything like that. And he was, you know, he was for the war when he worked there; he was very rah rah American, and the war and everything like that, and, you know, because it was part of his job and everything, and in the beginning, you know, it didn't look like it was going to drag out this long, but now, you know, later, he's changed also and he's changed his ideas and the war's dragged out. He views it as, you know, as being a waste of, you know, senseless waste of life. That, you know, Nixon and all those people and the wars, you know, it's just like, he feels that we've lost and that we lost a long time ago because we just kind of messed around and never really got to finish the war so you know like all this, just sending all these boys over to get killed off for no real reason, you know, it's just kind of drawing it out, you know, to help big business, and all those people that make money off the war.

MAN: Bruce, you have been, did you change?

BRUCE: Yeah, when I was a little kid, I wanted to be a soldier. I don't want to do that anymore either. I changed a lot and I'm against the war. I think it's a waste of life. I could never say that I was for it in the first place. I think it's bad. Bad scene.

WOMAN: Originally, how did you view the young protesters who protested against the war?

MARCHETTI: I didn't like them and I didn't trust them and I found that they were kooks and I don't know that I ever attributed to them any communist background, sympathies, but I didn't care much for the peace movement at first and the protest movemtn -- well, at that point, I was still pretty much of a hawk, I guess,

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I was still accepting what I was told by my government and within the Agency and I was -- still had a great deal of faith in the role of intelligence in every way. In supporting this government and saving the world. But as time went by and I thought about these things more and more, I had to admit that the kids sometimes had a pretty good argument.

I was a Scoutmaster about one time, I was the kind of a guy that you know, ends up as Little League coach and helping out with the swimming team and all that sort of stuff, but when some of my Scouts began to grow up and come back to see me, Eagle Scouts, telling me that they were not going to go in the Army that they were going to be conscientious objectors, and we would sit down here and argue and I would try to defend the U.S. policies in Vietnam, it got pretty difficult and I guess I put up a pretty good battle with the guys, but after they would leave, I would find myself thinking about it. And I didn't like the conclusions I was coming to.

But it became more and more obvious that this was wrong, that we were backing a corrupt regime, that you know, shouldn't even be in power to begin with, much less have the United States supporting it.

I had a friend over here not so long ago who is a fairly radical type, you know, a lot like these guys, only he has a bushy beard to go with it and everything ...

WOMAN: You're referring to our camera crew?

MARCHETTI: Yes, but this guy has gotten himself into trouble in the past because he you know he really gets out in the streets sometimes so he was over here and I offered him a glass of iced tea and I gave it to him in a glass like that, now he didn't know whether to take it or not; he thought I was joking or something. And I said, what's the matter? And he said, well - and I said, do you want a bigger glass or something? He said, no, no, okay, then he took it and he drank from it.

And I think -- and this guy, as far as I'm concerned is a loyal American, a loyal, patriotic American, he just happens to disagree with some other people who fancy themselves as the only loyal, patriotic Americans in the country and are, you know, running the show; but he's also the kind of guy that really fights for what he believes in. But they've given him such a complex that he's ashamed to drink out of a glass with the stars and stripes on it. And he's uncomfortable.

(CROSS TALK)

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(MUSIC)

SONG: A letter came today from the draft board, with trembling hands I read the questionnaire; it asked me lots of things about my momma and poppa, now that ain't what I call exactly fair. So I'm heading for the ... foreign border, Vancouver may be just my kind of town.

MARCHETTI: When I was a kid, I used to read the back page of our newspaper every day. There was always Poniatowski's(?) and Marchetti's, and O'Hara's, and Glybczinski's(?) and these were the boys that were being reported dead.

SONG: But that old soldier once told me some stories; about a battlefield that he was on. He said a man should never have to fight for glory. He must know what is right and what is wrong. And so I'm heading ...

MARCHETTI: Once in a while, there'd be a nice little officer by the name of Smith or Kramer or something; it was these boys from the melting pot; the sons of the miners, or the sons of the workers, these were the guys who were paying the price. And it's the same thing in Vietnam.

SONG: Then I don't know how much I owe my uncle. But I expect it's more than I can pay. He's asking me to sign a three year contract; if I'll take the first bus out today. So I'm heading for the nearest foreign border; Vancouver may be just my kind of town; cause they don't (UNCLEAR)...can't keep a good man underground.(?)

MAN: That was loaded with symbolism for me.

MARCHETTI: He got his letter from the draft board, I got a letter from the federal courts.

My view of the world was changing; it was becoming more important to me that problems in the Detroit ghetto be solved, rather than that we have the right people in power in -x- country in Latin America; that sort of thing for occurring, and well, you begin to lose faith in your organization, become disillusioned in its role, there's really nothing else you can do, except leave.

You can't change it from the inside; its too big; it's too bureaucratic; it's too entrenched. I was pretty confused about how real my disillusionment was and ho much of it might have been stemming from within me. I was -- I could see forty on the horizon, see, and I wasbeginning to look back and take an account-ing and wondering where I was going and if I was doing the right thing.

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WOMAN: ... it was sort of the way it was turing out, you know, he was -- just wasn't the same old Vic. He was tense, and he was very restless, nights he wasn't sleeping too well and we just weren't the couple that we usedto be.

MARCHETTI: It was quite a trauma. I mean, I loved the place and the people. They were my mind. Well, anyway, when the time came to leave, the Director was the first one to respond. And he called up -- his secretary called up and said, what's about you planning to resign?

Cause I'd done it in very short order; I just sat down one day and wrote a letter of resignation over the Labor Day weekend; in fact, yesterdaywas the third anniversary of having left, so that I would be able to just leave like that when I came back from leave.

Well, he called me up and we sat down and talked about it and he asked me why and I -- sitting in his office, I tried to tell him. I didn't tell him everything I was thinking, obviously; I mean, I told him about the bureaucracy and being too big and too costly and too much redundancy and all this sort of stuff, but the more sensitive matters, I was a little reluctant, the fact that I felt foolish sitting across from the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and telling him that, you know, he's still my chief, telling him that his agency is all goofed up and should be revamped and reformed and well, he's a very savvy guy, very shrewd man, and I think he understood, because he listened to everything and asked a few questions and he said, well, it seems to me as though you've thought this over for a long time, Vic, you've been thinking about this for quite some time, and I said, yes, I have, he said, well, I don't imagine there's anything I can say now that's going to change your mind.

So we stood up and we shook hands and he said, I wish you all the best and when you get this out of your system, get hungry, come on back, there'll always be a job waiting for you.

And so we parted under the very best of circumstances. But I was crushed. I cried all the way home from the Agency. Right up to the driveway that night. I was really heartbroken. In fact, I still tend to choke up a little bit even now when I think about it. It was just one of those things that I can't think of any other way to describe it except, as I said earlier, someone who joined thMarine Corps or the priesthood and believed in it completely and gave everything and one day over a period of time of course came to the conclusion that he -- it wasn't what he thought it was and therefore, he had to leave and well, that's what I did.

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Did you get anything to eat this morning?

BOY: I was really excited, you know, I mean, he's gonna be a writer and all like that, I thought, wow, you know, (UNCLEAR) ... and he said, you know, he was just tired of the job. I didn't, I wasn't, you know, I didn't understand the whole story; now it's coming out later, about how he was, you know, he was unsatisfied, you know, he was annoyed with the way things were and how you know, red tape and all that stuff and the hassle he was getting from people and now, later, you know, a couple of years later, I mean, I'm finding out that you know he was unhappy with the job and there were a lot of problems and that's actually why he quit, not that he was just you know tired and he wanted to do something else.

WOMAN: Come on, come on, come on ...

CHILD: Aw, gee.

(LAUGHTER)

BOY: Got 'em.

BOY: Let's have tea.

MAN: Want to have tea.

BOY: Yeah.

BOY: Yeah. Pierre and me and Victor O'Stair(?).

(UNCLEAR)

BOY: He ran for his life.

MAN: He's saying, I don't want to play football, I don't like football, so he's going to tell you what he believes and thinks and do what he believes and thinks and everything's going to be absolutely natural and absolutely truthful and forthright, like all the young people ... well, he played, but, you see, he had to be smartass and tackle me on that one play there, but if you notice, he didn't really rough me up, he kind of, you know, I knew he was going to do something like that so I was kind of ready for him with that. So I fired the ball at his head but you'll also notice I didn't really wing it at him. I kind of -- you know ... so after awhile when we got aside ...

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you know, father and son, and all that, and then we -- and two minutes later, we're going down the road, and he's saying, do you know that one eye really works at a time really, that one eye works - carries ninety percent of the load, the other one carries ten? It's all over with, we had our fight, our argument.

WOMAN: (UNCLEAR)

MAN: Well, it wasn't about football, Bruce; it was about why he didn't want to play football.

BOY: You know, here he's trying to play the game as it should be, you know, trying to do what's right, but trying to play it within the system and he's not, you know, he's not getting shit out of it. Like, he's not getting anywhere; it's just, you know, he's being, he's constantly being stifled, and you know, he's constantly being put down, and people, you know, people play up to him and then, you know, he's not any bad guy, you know, he goes along with them, and here, you know, they turn right around and stick him in the back or they just kind of you know don't really tell the story, you know, like, would you please plug my book, and they don't plug the book, they just you know say, oh, Marchetti -- secret ... secret ... and that secret, you know, and I don't know. I think that he's just going to have to get a little more forceful, you know.

MARCHETTI: There'll always be differences. I'm a father. He's a son. We'll never see eye to eye on everything. But it doesn't matter. I mean, we're both going in the same general direction, more or less. He may be, oh, when you make all the allowances for age and experience and youth and effervescence all that kind -- we're still heading in the same general direction; but even if we're not, I mean, even if we have ... we are a family. And love transcends it all in our family.

SONG: I ain't looking to compete with you. Beat or cheat or mistreat you. Simplify you classify you deny to fie or crucify(?). All I really want to do is baby be friends with you.

I don't want to meet your kin, make you sin or do you in;
(UNCLEAR) ... All I really want to do is baby be friends with you.

And I don't want to take you out, take or shake or forsake you out(?) I ain't looking for you to feel like me, see like me or be like me. All I really want to do is baby be friends with you.

MAN: Play the one about ... I like that one.

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(CROSS TALK)

MAN: Take the symbols off your knees ... things you have on your feet for beating the drums.

(CROSS TALK)

MARCHETTI: I don't know, maybe I'm just too steeped in the system, but I feel you ought to try to do it within the -- within the rules of the game. If you can -- if you just, you know, if you go off the deep end and destroy the system, well, that's not the point, you don't want to destroy the system, you want to improve the system. It's been a rotten summer.

Well, on the book, there are moments, I'll be completely honest with you, Barbara, there are moments now when I get a little angry and I say to myself, I won't show those son of a bitches a goddamned thing. You know. After what they've done to me, if they want to see anything, let them haul me into court.

They want to goad me, they want to push me, they want to ... me; they want me to do something stupid; really stupid; so that they can just splatter me and shrug their shoulders and say, see, we told you so.

[RADIO IN BACKGROUND]

I'm glad I did what I did. With all the problems. I think -- I think it's a silly business. So much of it is so silly, so unnecessary, so useless, so counterproductive; particularly the clandestine aspect of it and this is why they're so angry with me; let's fact it; they don't give a damn if I talk about intelligence sources or methods, what infuriates them is that I'm attacking the sacred, mystical shamanism of the clandestine services. Which is pure unadulterated bull. They have not been able to crack the Soviets. They have not been able to crack the Chinese. They're great in the huts of Northeastern Africa and they're tremendous when it comes to manipulating dictators in some haflbaked country in Latin America and they can run a very nifty little war in some useless crotch of the world like Laos, but in doing the job they're supposed to do, in acquiring the information on the world, and having it analyzed, and producing information that is useful to the policy makers and to the planners they failed. And they have failed as espionage agents against the key target. And this is why they're so furiouBecause this is the theme of my book.